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R E P O R T .

THE Cause of Peace has lost, during the past year, some of its earliest friends and most liberal supporters in this country—the venerable and much lamented WILLIAM ROTCHE, of New Bedford, long one of our Vice Presidents, and a co-worker with Noah Worcester from the outset of his labors in this cause; JOSIAH WHITE, of Philadelphia, another excellent friend of every good enterprise; ABIEL CHANDLER, formerly of Boston, a man of quiet but large liberality; and Miss SARAH WALDO, of Worcester, the last of a family whose munificent and widely diffused charities have identified their name with all the great philanthropic movements of the day; all in a ripe and honored old age, the first named upwards of ninety, and the four averaging more than eighty years each. These names have long been familiar to the public as among the most generous contributors to various enterprises of benevolence; and it is with mournful satisfaction we record our own obligations to them for some of the largest donations our Society has ever received.

But, while its earthly friends die, our cause still flourishes under the fostering care of its Almighty and ever-living Friend on high. It is emphatically his own cause; and we would be devoutly thankful, that his smiles have rested so largely upon it the past year, and crowned it, both in this and other lands, with a degree of success which ought, more than ever, to encourage our hopes, and stimulate our zeal.

Our Society, during the last year, has continued its usual course of operations in the way both of Agencies and of Publications; the two methods in which its influence is chiefly put forth for the accomplishment of its object. Besides an agent at its office attending to the incidental business there, and the Corresponding Secretary devoting his whole time and strength, as still a man of all work for the Society, to its correspondence, its publications, and the supervision of its general concerns under the direction of its Executive Committee, there have been three Lecturing Agents under commission during the year, who have, however, labored only a small part of the time in our service.

We might specify in detail the labors of these servants in our cause; but, as they correspond in the main with those heretofore described with quite a sufficient degree of minuteness, we refrain from repeating the description here, and content ourselves with simply referring to former reports on this point. Our Secretary has usually travelled in our service more than 5,000 miles a year, and delivered from two to six or eight discourses or addresses a week, besides all his other miscellaneous labors both at the office and abroad.

There is great need of more laborers in this much neglected field. We have all along endeavored to supersede, just as far as possible, the necessity of regular agencies, by inducing some of our best friends, especially pastors, to act as local agents for our cause in their respective vicinities; but we clearly and urgently need far more men, well qualified for the work, to traverse the whole country as special agents for the purpose of calling general and effective attention to this subject, and of enlisting in its behalf the pulpits, the presses, and other controlling instrumentalities through the length and breadth of the land. We can dispense with such agents whenever the community, or only its leading members, shall be thoroughly roused to the claims of this cause; but till then we ought to have an average of at least one for each of the thirty-one States in the Union.

In the department of Publications, we have the last year done, though not so much as in the year preceding, when we published an amount equal to *seven*

million tract pages, yet rather more than the average of former years. We have issued about the usual number of our periodical, and have continued to circulate somewhat extensively, and with encouraging results, our *Peace Manual*, as a popular compend of the cause, and both the admirable *Reviews of the Mexican War* published by our Society. We have also stereotyped a *Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace*, a pamphlet equivalent to some fifty tract pages, a brief but very comprehensive view of the cause in its claims especially upon the followers of the Prince of Peace, and have put about 8,000 copies in circulation mainly among ministers of the gospel, and other influential members of the Christian community in different parts of the land, with a particular view to enlisting them in spontaneous and habitual coöperation for the advancement of our object. Regarding the periodical press in this country as an engine of vast power and ubiquitous influence on the public mind, we have sought in various ways to employ especially our religious newspapers in bringing and keeping this subject more or less before the whole Christian community.

These efforts are directed to the very main-springs of our hopes under God for the success of our cause; and by placing our best works on peace in our higher seminaries of learning, in Sabbath schools and public libraries, in the hands of statesmen, and other prominent and influential citizens, as well as of Christian ministers at home, and of all our missionaries abroad, we trust we have been planting in the best possible soil germs of influence that must in due time ripen into benign and most important results.

Not the least hopeful of our operations, however, have been our efforts to secure from our General Government some action in favor of such peaceful substitutes for War as shall supersede its alleged necessity, and put a stop at once to actual wars, and an end at length to the whole war-system. The last year, as for several years before, we not only petitioned, in behalf of our Society, the three departments of our Government, but invited the friends of peace through the country to unite with us in petitions, for the adoption of such substitutes; and so numerous were the memorials from all parts of the land, said to be several hundred in all, and so desirous were our Executive Committee of pressing the matter, if possible, to a favorable issue, that the Corresponding Secretary, at their request, spent nearly a month last winter at Washington on the subject. The result exceeded his most sanguine expectations. Our Society's petition, presented by the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, with a brief but very pertinent and forcible argument in favor of its object, was received with marked respect and courtesy by the Senate; and their committee on Foreign Relations, the most important perhaps of all their committees, were unanimous and cordial, as their Chairman, Mr. FOOTE, stated at the time it was presented, in making a report which recommends the substance of all we had requested in our memorial, viz., "that, in the judgment of this body, it would be proper and desirable for the government of these United States, wherever practicable, to secure, in its treaties with other nations, a provision for referring to the decision of umpires all future misunderstandings that cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by amicable negotiation, in the first instance, before a resort to hostilities shall be had."

Still more decisive, if possible, were other indications reported by our Secretary. He had interviews on the subject with many leading members of the Senate, with the President himself, with the members of his Cabinet, and with some of the Foreign Ministers at Washington, all of whom, with the single exception of a Senator who had been a commander in the Mexican War, expressed themselves decidedly in favor not only of our object, admitted by all men of sense to be unquestionably good, but of the arbitration principle for which we contend, and of the specific measure we propose, for the prevention of future wars.

Now, are not these facts full of hope and encouragement? It is quite true we have not yet gained our whole object; but we certainly have secured such a hearing, and such expressions of favor from men at the helm of our Government, as were never before vouchsafed to the friends of peace either by them,

or by any other set of rulers. Our highest aim and hope was to obtain in some form from the Senate the assurance of their readiness to ratify treaties embracing the principle of Stipulated Arbitration, and thus open the way for the Executive, in whose favorable disposition we had much confidence, to negotiate treaties on this principle. To this extent we have been fully successful; for now there can be hardly the shadow of a doubt, that the Senate will cheerfully concur with the President and his Cabinet in sanctioning this peaceful provision in whatever treaties they may choose to incorporate it. They may not, probably will not, do this, unless we keep them reminded of it; but, if we should, there is every reason to believe, that this clearly feasible and probably effective substitute for war may in due time form a part of all our treaties, an integral and permanent element of our foreign policy. This simple measure, if once adopted in good faith by all civilized nations, could hardly fail to obviate nearly every plea of necessity for actual war between them, and to uproot at length their whole war-system.

It may be proper just to allude here to some other favorable omens at Washington. The House of Representatives has ever been the chief seat of the war-spirit among our rulers; but even there has our cause been silently yet surely winning its way, and gaining favor and strength. It is extremely difficult for any unpopular object to get a fair hearing, if any hearing at all, in the House, and never till quite recently did its members show any disposition seriously to entertain the subject of peace; but, in the last Congress, they lacked at one time only a single vote of referring our petitions to a *select committee*, a very significant indication in our favor, and promptly voted down by decisive majorities several war-measures that would, a few years ago, have been carried with little or no opposition. Thus do coming events cast their shadows before them; and five or ten years more may develop, even in the popular branch of our Government, most important changes on this subject. Already may our influence have saved the nation millions of money; and ere long will it probably save millions on millions more. Let us wait; the end is not yet.

The cost of these various operations has been comparatively small. Our expenditures during the year have amounted to \$3,241 42, and our income from all sources to \$3,403 86, leaving in the treasury a balance of \$162 44. The receipts of the last year, though less for obvious reasons than those of the year before, have been greater than the average for the last eight or ten years from current contributions.

There is one aspect of our finances at the present time which our friends will view with more than usual satisfaction. Since the removal of our Society to this city fourteen years ago, the balance, up to four years since, has seldom been on the right side of the ledger, and the deficiency has sometimes amounted to several thousand dollars; but our Financial Agent has now, with a balance still in our favor, paid off not only our current debts, but all our current outstanding liabilities, except a small amount that will become due for postage and office expenses at the end of the quarter not yet expired, and which cannot till then be ascertained. Thus the Society may now start upon its future operations unencumbered; and we earnestly hope it will hereafter act, as every such society should, on the principle of paying as it goes, nor leave to successors in office any debts or even liabilities to hinder its permanent prosperity.

The Society may be curious to learn what property it has. The amount, though small, has been steadily increasing for some few years past in the form of publications, copy-rights and stereotype plates, from an estimate of which, submitted to us by our Financial Agent, it appears that their total value, together with balances of charges still unpaid, is reckoned at \$3,441 88, nearly all of which has accumulated within the last four or five years. This estimate is designed only as a general approximation to the value of this property, not as convertible into money, but solely in carrying on the Society's operations.

While our Society has thus been pursuing its heaven-appointed mission, we are glad to see around us other agencies at work for the same object. The

League of Universal Brotherhood has to some extent labored for the cause in different parts of our country; some other Peace Societies, like the State Society of Ohio, have evinced a commendable degree of zeal; some of our ablest periodicals have lent their spontaneous and effective advocacy; and a large number of pulpits in the aggregate, though probably but a very small part of the 30,000 in our whole land, have lifted up their voice for this as for kindred and more popular enterprises of Christian benevolence. We desire gratefully to recognize the smiles of a gracious providence in thus rallying more and more of these important auxiliaries in the great and glorious work of the world's eventual pacification.

Meanwhile the progress of our cause in other lands has been in some respects still more encouraging. The Fourth General Peace Congress at Frankfort, in Germany, last year, attended by some 500 friends of peace from Great Britain alone, and perhaps 1,000 from all countries, was successful beyond the expectations of its chief promoters, and obviously left upon Germany and Europe a salutary impression. It derived a peculiar and painful interest from being held in the midst of warlike demonstrations that brought under arms on the Continent some four millions of men, half a million more than at the height of Napoleon's career. A formal request was made for its mediation in the long-protracted dispute between Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein; a request that could not indeed be granted, but the bare presentation of which strikingly evinced the hold of the Congress upon the general respect and confidence of Europe. Three of its prominent members,—Joseph Sturge, Frederick Wheeler, and Elihu Burritt,—went self-moved upon a mission of peace to the very theatre of the bloody conflict, were received with every mark of respect and kindness by both parties, and would probably have succeeded in effecting an adjustment very soon without further effusion of blood, if the war-etiquette of the belligerents, and the previous interference of European powers, had not obstructed their work of peace. Nor is it, after all, improbable that their efforts had an important influence in staying the work of death, and preparing the way for the peaceful settlement which was ultimately made. The Frankfort Congress, also, did something to awaken the German mind on the question of peace, and led to a multitude of publications on the subject, and to the formation of peace societies, from all which important results may in time be confidently expected. Arrangements were made for spreading over Europe the chief facts and arguments of our cause, its elementary ideas; and some of the most widely circulated journals have since been regularly employed to scatter short, pithy articles on peace among the reading masses. There has certainly been made a good beginning on the Continent; and we devoutly hope these efforts will be followed up with vigor until the iron power of war-prejudices and war-habits there shall be broken, and the whole war-system, now a mammoth incubus on the bosom of struggling millions, shall be entirely and forever superseded by Christian methods of international justice, peace and security.

Another Congress, still richer in its promise of good, is to meet at London, in connexion with the World's Industrial Exhibition, on the twenty-second of July. It will doubtless be attended by a much larger number of delegates than any of the preceding Congresses; and we trust it will form a new and brighter era in the progress of our cause. Convened in the midst of hundreds of thousands gathered in the World's great Commercial Metropolis from every quarter of the globe, it can hardly fail to be grand and imposing beyond all former precedent, and will enjoy facilities never before within the reach of the friends of peace, for giving a world-wide publicity and currency to their object, principles and measures. The World's Industrial Exhibition, an idea as new as it is magnificent, a conception only of peaceful times, and altogether impossible at any period before the rise and partial success of our cause, will itself be a most eloquent advocate of universal peace, a prototype in some degree of that golden era when nations, eschewing the exploits of war, and cultivating the arts of peace, shall beat their swords into plough-shares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and shall learn war no more.

The cause of peace is now pretty fully started on its mission of mercy to mankind; but its friends should never forget, that it can reach its goal of promised triumph only by a right use of the means divinely appointed for the purpose. These *must* be used; for they are just as indispensable to the world's pacification as they are to the world's conversion. The Gospel is the only sure remedy for war; but, before it can cure this terrible evil, its pacific principles and influences must be rightly applied to the case; and in the work of making such an application in every Christian community, we ought without delay to enlist the school and the fireside, the pulpit, the press, and all the leading agencies of society. Here is a vast work, barely begun by all that the friends of peace have done since the rise of this cause thirty-five years ago; and never can it be fully accomplished without a ten-fold increase both of contribution and of effort. We must have both; but money, if obtained, might secure the requisite labor. Men cannot toil in any cause without the means of support from some source, either of their own, or of others; nor can we maintain an office, conduct an extensive correspondence, and issue periodicals, tracts and volumes by thousands and scores of thousands, without a pretty large amount of funds.

A lack of funds has ever been a chief difficulty in this cause. For this reason Noah Worcester could do for it comparatively little; and William Ladd, on succeeding him in its management, took upon himself, as a matter of necessity, all its pecuniary responsibilities, and left at his death about \$1,000 of its debts, we believe, to be discharged by his executor. In prospect of his large bequests to the Society, a long tried friend of the cause consented to take the same post of responsibility; but, after a trial of some five years, he was compelled to lay down the burden as too great to be borne any longer. During his five years' treasurership, our income from legacies alone, a source from which the Society during the other eighteen years of its existence has received only some \$40 a year, was about \$1,500 a year; but, with all these advantages peculiar to that period, our treasury ran in debt an average of some \$600 a year, and owed, at the time of his retirement from office, about \$3,000 beyond its means.

In such a crisis what was to be done? All agreed that no more debts ought to be incurred; but how could this be avoided without stopping all operations? If the Society, with an income of \$1,500 a year from a source whence it ordinarily received not a thirtieth part of that sum, had, even under the care of one familiar with financial matters, run so deeply in debt, who would venture now to assume its pecuniary responsibilities? Yet our Secretary, as the only means of continuing the Society's operations, consented for a time to undertake, besides the duties of his Secretaryship, the management of its financial affairs, even on the hard terms which the Committee from past experience deemed it necessary to prescribe, viz., that he should, under their direction, act as Financial Agent in collecting and disbursing the Society's moneys, should become personally responsible for all expenses incurred in carrying on the operations prescribed by them, should pay no bills without the written approval of their sub-committee appointed for that purpose, and should keep them fully apprized of the Society's whole financial condition, by laying before them, at every regular meeting, a statement not only of all receipts and disbursements, but of all outstanding liabilities.* This rigid system, never before practised, soon righted

* It is customary, even with Societies of large income, to have a well-known man of business as Treasurer, under whose supervision all moneys are received and disbursed, and the accounts kept by other persons, under the name of Assistant Treasurer, Financial or General Agent, or merely Agent. It is thus with the American Tract and Home Missionary Societies at New York; and the American Tract Society at Boston, with an income of more than \$60,000 a year, and with the President of one of our banks for a Treasurer, appoints, for the sake of greater economy, simplicity and efficiency in its operations, a single man as "Corresponding Secretary, Assistant Treasurer, and General Agent," to perform the duties of all these offices. The income of the American Peace Society has varied from \$3,000 to a little more than \$6,000 a year, less than a tenth part of the American Tract Society at Boston; and it is not surprising, that the managers of the former, with resources so small and so precarious, should wish to practice a similar economy by

the ship, brought the balance ere long in the Society's favor, and kept it there until the members of the Committee who had begun this policy, were overruled by the addition to their number in 1849 of men who objected strenuously to the system, and insisted on its immediate abandonment. It was abandoned for a time; but in some three months the Society became about \$1,000 in debt. Startled by this result, the Committee, with only one dissenting voice, requested the Secretary to resume his services as financial agent. He did so, and succeeded in reaching the close of even that year with a slight balance in the Society's favor.

The burden, however, was oppressive, not in receiving and disbursing our small income, but in raising funds for all necessary expenses; and the Secretary, in a formal communication one year ago to the Society through the pages of its periodical, asked to be released from these financial cares, on the obvious grounds, that he originally accepted its secretaryship without the remotest idea of ever becoming its financier; that he undertook this additional office only to meet an emergency expected to be temporary; and that these accumulated labors were far too arduous for any one man, and interfered too much with his usefulness in other ways not only more congenial to his tastes and habits, but much more important to the cause itself. No answer was given to this request; and the Secretary took the first opportunity to lay the same request before the newly elected Executive Committee. They considered it, but found no way of relieving him without danger to the Society's finances. Baffled in this second effort to escape from his financial labors and responsibilities, he called a special meeting of the Directors, and solicited them to devise some means of providing an adequate income for the Society without any further dependence on himself for the purpose. They met twice on the subject, but were finally forced to the conclusion, with only a single dissenting vote, at a meeting unusually large, that the system, adopted by the Committee near the close of 1846, and pursued ever since with but a few months' disastrous interruption, is the best, if not the only feasible and effective one that can be devised, until the Society shall in some way secure a spontaneous, reliable income sufficient to meet its current expenses; that the financial services, devolved for several years previous upon the Secretary, must be performed by somebody; and that, since he had so long performed them with so much success, the Committee ought, if possible, to retain him in the same services.

It must, indeed, be confessed, that the actual success of this system was a pretty strong argument in its favor, especially when contrasted with the results of any other system yet tried. A few facts from the Society's accounts will make the point sufficiently plain. Under this system, its income from ordinary sources has averaged, during the last five years, upwards of thirty per cent. more than during the five years immediately preceding. In those preceding years, though the income from legacies, a source from which less than \$50 a year has ordinarily been received, amounted to some \$1,500 a year, yet there was, in 1843, a balance *against* the Society, a debt incurred, of \$2,515.35; in 1844, of \$3,636.35; in 1845, of \$4,328.82; in 1846, of \$1,749.16, after the receipt *that* year of \$5,200 from legacies alone; and on the Treasurer's retirement from office, a few months after, it reached nearly \$3,000. Under the system of the last five years, however, the balance *against* the Society in 1847, five or six months after this system went into operation, was only \$17.12; while the balance, at the close of every year since, has been in *favor* of the Society, until now the Financial Agent, after discharging all its current debts and *outstanding liabilities*, brings still a balance in its favor of \$162.44, with property on hand to the estimated amount of more than three thousand dollars.

There *ought* to be, however, no necessity for heaping upon a single person such an amount of labors and responsibilities for a cause common to all good men; but there is only one way to obviate this necessity, viz.: for the friends of Peace to secure, by other means, a steady income sufficient to meet the Society's neces-

getting, if they could, a single person to discharge the duties of these several offices under their own direction and supervision.

sary expenses. This surely ought to be done, and may be done, if the friends of the cause will just say it *shall* be, and then take care *themselves* to do it. Here is a sure remedy, quite within their reach. We cannot for a moment believe otherwise. There certainly are in the community a multitude of good men, friendly to our cause; and they can, if they will, easily contribute all we need. Let every one of them become a member of our Society by paying two dollars a year; let some make themselves or their friends life-members by twenty dollars at one payment; let the wealthy give ten or twenty, fifty or a hundred dollars, or still more, every year; let only a small part of the thirty thousand congregations in the whole land take up for the cause an annual collection of not more than five dollars each on an average; and we should at once have, if these contributions should become habitual from year to year, a spontaneous and reliable income sufficient to increase our operations ten-fold, and enable us to meet some of the urgent demands upon us for the extension of our agencies, and the spread of our publications, far and wide over the country, more especially in those remote and least cultivated portions which are now the chief hot-beds of the war-spirit in our republic.

Nor will we despair of yet seeing all this done. With fewer obstacles and greater facilities in the work of Peace, than are to be found in any other country, it seems to us that our history and character as a free, enlightened, Christian people, and our position before the world as confessedly in the van of nearly all governmental improvements, clearly mark us out as appointed, in the providence of God, to take the lead in this great work of universal peace. We *must* be its leaders, or prove ourselves recreant to a high and sacred trust; but never can we fulfil this glorious mission without a very large increase of liberality and zeal in using the means indispensable to the full triumph of our cause.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE American Peace Society held its twenty-third Anniversary in Park Street Church, Boston, May 26th, at 7 1-2 o'clock, P. M. The President, JUDGE JAY, being absent, Hon. SAMUEL GREELE, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the Chair, and prayer was offered by the Rev. DANIEL SHARP, D. D. The reports of the Treasurer and the Directors were then presented; after which the Rev. RUFUS W. CLARK delivered the Annual Address, for which a vote of thanks was passed, and a copy requested for publication.

The following resolutions, moved by Rev. C. BROOKS, were then adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That we view, with much satisfaction and hope, the indications of a growing interest in the question of Peace, especially among the rulers of our Republic.

Resolved, That the cause of Peace, being strictly common alike to men of all sects, all parties, and all sections, deserves, and can hardly fail to secure, when rightly understood, the cordial sympathy and support of all who love their country or their species.

Resolved, That our thanks are due to the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP for his able and effective advocacy of our cause in the Senate of the United States at its recent session, and also to the Hon. HENRY S. FOOTE, Chairman of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations, for his kind and courteous attention to the petitions from ourselves and others through the country, in behalf of peaceful substitutes for war, and for his important services in obtaining from that Committee a unanimous report so entirely in favor of such substitutes; and that our Corresponding Secretary be instructed to communicate this vote of thanks to both those Senators.

On motion of Hon. AMASA WALKER it was

Resolved, That we regard the Peace Congresses, already held in Europe, as eminently successful, and look forward to the one expected in London, on the 22d of July next, as likely to exert a still more important influence on the cause of Peace through the world.